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THE HANDBOOK

OF HUNGARIAN PHILOLOGY

Edited by

Janos Melich and Gyula Nemeth

ETHNIC GROUPS AND REGIONS

by

Karoly Viski

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KAROLY VISKI

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1. Ethnic group, as we understand it, means the framework of material and intellectual phenomena of a people's (fraction of people, group) culture ethnographically viewed, thus traditionally formed.

The cultural stock is in constant motion, like the people that keep it alive; it grows, it changes, it perishes. The course of the motion and the length of its phases depend partly on causes hiding in the spirit of the people, partly on varying external circumstances and influences (communal, geographical, economical, transportational, social, organizational, etc., conditions), as well as on the often unexpectedly appearing historical changes which direct and transform the latter.

Its origin throws light on the earliest phase of the ethnic group. The 'origin' or 'source' is nothing more than either prehistoric or a 100-200 year old separation from an earlier ethnic community. This separation -- from the prior unit (group) retains certain marks, loses others, and in its newly acquired position in the ethnic community and in its geographical environment acquires some characteristics, making them its own (assimilates), leaving others untouched.

Language is not necessarily a barrier to the motion, traffic, and exchange of the intellectual and material values which form the ethnic group. Thus, the linguistic boundaries are not necessarily ethnic boundaries. Certain characteristics of ethnic value (habitational, occupational, architectural, familial, of furniture, of folk customs, of folk poetry, of folk music, and other phenomena) sometimes penetrate a whole line of linguistic boundaries; or, in fact, they appear to be such stationary and enduring phenomena that the waves of languages can freely sweep over them without washing away any substantial marks from their original form.

Neither history nor ethnography knows of such a smaller or larger ethnic unit (group) which possesses the entirety of its own cultural stock exclusively. /2/ From this it follows that only the particular cultural phenomena or the components of such phenomena

have boundaries. Consequently, the whole lot of things such as OOC
fishing, fireplace, dialect, folklore, folk music, legal custom, belonging to one mass of people is not possessed exclusively by one ethnic group, but merely a component part, appurtenance, technique, form, decoration, structure, operational method of them; like the fishing net, the household implement, the verse structure, the epic motif, the use of diphthongs, the marriage customs, in their typical form, marked application, etc. The layman uses one or two of these marks--most often the way of dressing or dialect--to form an 'ethnic group'. But ethnography itself also selects the leading phenomenon from these characteristics and uses it as a catchword to label certain cultural areas or regions: like 'marriarchial area', 'boomerang culture', 'five-tone scale (musical)', 'dialect using "i's" excessively (linguistic)', etc.

If in the following we discuss ethnic groups and geographical- 121
ethnographical areas, which are living in historical or folk traditions and thus exist in reality, we may not lend as of today to the above mentioned distinctions more significance than to the summary description of Szeged dialect which simply states that there the Magyars 'speak ö'. -- Thus, our groups are not the results of scientific investigation, for research substantially aiming to find the correct boundary lines was never undertaken. -- But, as far as the problem of ethnic boundaries is concerned, even scientific research will never advance further than the designation of boundaries of single phenomena; nevertheless, these will be important statements, separating the phenomena from each other, and suitable for manifold conclusions. -- The boundaries thus established will doubtless often advance on the same lines as dialectical phenomena. In the future conclusions of the dialectologist this joint character will serve as a distinct emphasis which has the force of proof.

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Our traditional ethnic groups and regions in the order of Dunántúl, Alföld, Felföld, Erdély are the following:

2. DUNÁNTÚL. -- Őrség. Historical formation. According to tradition recorded as early as the thirteenth century, after the Hungarian conquest, border guards were settled on the Vas portion of the western border, ('határőrség', 'speculatores'; 1272-1331; spec. Ewr dictorum, 1451; In districtu Eorsegh in Com. Castriferrei OSz.). From the third decade of the fourteenth century it was 'őrnagyság', with Őriszentpéter as the center, and with Felsőőri Miklós as its first 'őrnagy /(major)/' (1497: Ewr Nogh OSz.). Its area consists of the upper valley of the Zala River and the middle valley of the Kerka River, which is encircled by the following villages: Szalafő, Ispánk, Szaknyér, Pankasz, Szata (Szatta), Kerkáskápolna, Szomoróc, Kapornak, Őrihodos; including these villages there is a total of 18. The guards had privileges similar to those of the Székelys, and their legal position seemed to be of equal rank with that of the nobility. Part of those who were guarding the region of Szalafő (whose old name 1364: Zalafewewr, 1392: zalaewr, MNy. IX, 149) became privately controlled, with the estate of Németújvár, as early as the fourteenth century. The privileges of the rest were confirmed as late as the sixteenth century. Later, these also became serfs. With parts of the Székelys this is the second group that settled an area characterized by pine forests. Its ethnography is identical with that of the Magyars living in nearby Hetés and Göcsej and in general in the Zala and Kerka valleys (Szalaság, -- 1526: Zalafagg Erdy-C. NYSz. --); more than one of its ethnographical characteristics is related to those of the nearby Wendic group (tótság). 101 361 [131] [137]

The questions of the territorial connections of the military frontiers of Vas, naturally, must be omitted here, and we can touch merely upon the recorded groups. /4/

The second Magyar group of border guards is also located in Vas, in the area of Felsőőr which covers the valleys of the Pinka and Szék creeks, in the neighborhood of the other villages having 'őr' and 'lövő' in their names. The isolated group of the Magyar remnants of this island-like area consist of: Felsőőr, Alsóőr, and Őrsziget. We may add to them Kisjobbágyi, containing the Magyar

101 population of Jobbágyi (once also privileged), which has a German
361 majority (1496: Jobbagy Alsoewr Felseewr OSz.). As a result of its insular position, the region has abundant contacts with German influences; otherwise, it has ethnographical connections with the Magyars of Vas, Alsoorseg, and Zala. The people, like the Szekelys, engage in domestic industries, and go 'down to Hungary' with their wares. -- Even in this there are a few differences between the Alszeg and Felszeg of Felsőőr. They are also split as to religious denominations.

Göcsej ('the Göcsej', Göcsejség, called jocularly: Girgácia,
361 1818: Kerkatia; 'mockingly': Gergatia, MNy. XIII, 303; in the
133 northern part of the Nova district frequently: 'a szegek országa (the land of the nails)'; 1266 Egurzug, 1323: Piliskeżeg OSz.) is an area without exact boundaries; including roughly the part of County Zala which falls between the Zala River, Principális-canal (Nagycsatorna, Válicka), Kerka River, and Dráva River. The villages themselves do not admit that they belong to the area, because they feel mockery in the word Göcsej or from Göcsej; therefore, according to them, Göcsej begins (everywhere) with the 'neighboring village'. Its villages with their poor streets (muddy) preserved many traditions.

Hetés constitutes a group in Göcsej's immediate neighborhood, which is ethnographically almost in every respect identical with the latter, lying between Göcsej, Őrség, and the Vendség.

[137] Hegyhát: between the Zala and Rába Rivers, and between Őrség and Kemenesalja, in Zala County, partly characterized by pine forests like Őrség, partly by beech forests, like Kemenesalja, together with the latter in the earlier period predominantly used for pasturing. It is joined by Kemenesalja, which possesses geographical traits identical to the northern part of Hegyhát; and is also related to it in natural features, but offers a better means of making a living.

Kemenesalja, a continuation of 'hegyhát' also in Vas County beginning approximately at Hegyhátgyertyános under the wooded ridge called Cser (one time obviously 'Kemenes'), between the Rába and Marcal Rivers; with its many villages is a group settled in the Marcal valley; in fact, the name is used to designate a geographical area or region. Its northernmost village, keeping the name of the area, is Kemenesszentpéter. Its most typical villages are located closely below the ridge; more exactly, these constitute the 'kemenesalja' settlements.

Sokoróalja, the flattened extensions of the low chain of hills which advance toward the Rába River with their wide valleys in Győr County, between the Bakony-ér Creek and the Marcal River; formerly a district of the county; in the immediate neighborhood of the plains of Győr /5/ and of the geographical area called Kis-Alföld in technical literature. 361 133

The Kis-Alföld--which has no traditional collective designation--constitutes in many respects a homogenous geographical area and ethnographical unit, which has been, in the past, divided by the Danube only as far as transportation is concerned. It is divided into smaller or larger geographical areas which also include ethnographical regions by its many rivers, river flats, marshes and swampy lakes--most of which are drained today. These areas are the following:

Rábaköz, surrounded by the Rába, Répce, Rábca (Hanság-canal) Rivers, is a part of Sopron County and in a smaller portion of Győr County; it was a governmental unit as early as the Middle Ages, called 'szék' ('sedes'). (1240: Rabakuz, 1381: in districtu Rabakuz OSz.) Before the rivers were controlled, in the north it faded into the Hanság. Its characteristic, centrally located village is Kapuvár, the 'kapu /(gate)/', 'kapuvár /(gate-fortress)/', of the once marshy border region. The name of its Győr County portion, which is the triangular area east of the line of the Lórét-canal is: Tóköz; and the area which was drained by the Lórét-canal and which was flooded in earlier times by the Rába is called: Lórét.

Hanság (according to local pronunciation Hany, Hanyság: 1584; han NyK. XXV, 166) is the marshy empire of the Ikva, Répce, and Rábca Rivers; a world of reeds and soggy meadows, with the typical geographical conditions and ethnographical picture characteristic of such areas, with limited farming and domestic industries. Its villages which at one time were surrounded by water ('hanyi') are: Kóny, Osli, Sövényháza, etc.

Fertő (Lake Fertő; around 1200: stagnum Fertew. OSz; 1317: lacum Ferthew CSÁNKI: III, 683) is a swampy lake region in Sopron and Moson Counties, its lake area today being restricted to a small portion of land and to certain periods. Above it is the plain of Moson; and in this plain between the Danube and Lajta Rivers (Lajta-köz) is Fenyér. (Old name of the Lajta River: Sár; 1415: fluvium Saarvize alio nomine Laytha OSz.)

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133 Szigetköz (by its other name Kis-Csallóköz) is an island on the right side of the Old Danube surrounded by the Danube's Moson branch (locally called Kis-Duna) and the Öreg-Duna /(Old Danube)/. The part which falls on the side of Moson is called: Föltáj (according to local pronunciation Fótáj), that on the Győr side: Altáj.

Csallóköz (1334: Chorloukuz OSz.; also known as Aranykert /(Golden Garden)/ with reference perhaps to its gold-collecting population or to the fables mentioning its magic wealth of golden fruits; also known as Nagy-Csallóköz /(Great-Csallóköz)/ as opposed to Szigetköz which is also called Kis-Csallóköz /(Small Csallóköz)/; its name in the Middle Ages was 'Kis Pozsony Megye /(Little Pozsony County)/', 'comitatus minoris Posonii'); in the earlier days also a governmental, military, and nobiliary unit (1269: Challokewz NySz., 1355: /6/ In comitatu Choullowkuz, 1355: In provincia Cholloukuz, 1429: In districtu Challowkuz. OSz.); its Feltáj /(upper region)/ belonged in the past to the district of the fortress of Pozsony, its Altáj
[631] /(lower region)/ in that of the fortress of Komárom; thus, its has two political subdivisions: the upper and lower districts of Csallóköz. It is an island-like area encircled by the Érsekujvári or Vág-Duna /(Vág-Danube)/ (Kis Duna/(Little Danube)/, which leaves the Old Danube at Pozsony, increases in size after uniting with the Vág River at Gúta, and rejoins the Old Danube at Komárom. In earlier times little streams and headlands divided it into numerous parts. Of these divisions Csilizköz is worth mentioning, it is encircled by the streamlet called Cziliz (today it is known as Csiliz Canal), which leaves the Old Danube at Baka and rejoins it at Kulcsod. Its name can be found in the name of the districts of Győr County (Tósziget-csilizköz), which is the governmental framework for three 'vizköz /(area surrounded by water)/' (Tóköz, Szigetköz, Csilizköz).

Turning back from the Danube in the direction of the central mountain range of the Dunántúl, we have to mention the areas which cannot be included in Kemenesalja. These are the Marcal region in the valley of the Marcal River and the western Bakonyalja /(lower Bakony)/, which consists of the portion of the Veszprém area sliced into two by the Bakony range that lies around Pápa.

Bakony (1193: Bokon MNy. XXIII, 566) is not only a geographical area--but, especially on a geographical basis, --also a historical formation. As early as the thirteenth century (even earlier, as a royal landhold) it became a separate ispánság /(smaller political unit)/, 'comitatus Bokoniensis', but not a county (1269: in comitatu Bokoniensi MNy. XXIII, 567). Here there is a chain group of

'szék-s' or 'noble villages' which were in the service of the king or in that of a bishopric, enjoying more or less privileges, such as the onetime Szék of Vecse ('sedes'), which included the villages of Vecse, Kisjenő, and Tapolcafő; the villages of Szentgál, Szentkirályszabadja, Vámos, Nemesszalók, Karakószörcsök, which preserved the traditions of the royal hunters, herdsmen, forest-rangers, and game wardens; the village of Tés with its island-like position today; and the villages of Dudar, Gyulafirátót, Nemesvita; and innumerable others belonging to the Bakony area from the Veszprém and Zala regions. Also, Bakonybél in the 'bel /(insides)/' of Bakony should not be forgotten. 361 133

East of the Bakony-Vértes-Gerecse mountain range we find the typical geographical region of Pilis, which once was a separate county (today it is united with the Counties of Pest, Solt, and Kiskunság). Its characteristic village is Pilismarót, now located in Esztergom County. -- According to its ethnographical appearance the Island of Szentendre (or Monostor), which is encircled by the Danube branches of Vác and Szentendre (Old Danube and and Little Danube) belongs to the Dunántúl territory with its villages of Ki-soroszi, Tótfalu, Pócsmegyer, and Szigetmonostor.

Vértesalja is the area between the valley of Mór (Sárvíz) and the creek of Szentlászló, which flows toward the lake of Velence, with the city of Székesfehérvár in its southern corner.

/7/ Mezőföld is the area south of the above region, bound by the line of Sió-Balaton-Sárvíz-Duna, which is separated from the Alföld not only by the Danube, but also by an embankment of fifty or sixty meters. Its most typical landscape and forms of life are to be found in the area of the Séd and Sárvize Rivers (1283: fluvium Saar prope Albam OSz.): the Sár, and along its upper portion in Sárrét, lying west from Székesfehérvár (in earlier days 'Sármellyék' (1356: Saarmellek OSz.); under this name it was part of a district of Fejér County). In line with these names we find a row of villages marked with the word 'sár' along the watery, an elongated area advancing toward the Sárköz of County Tolna, such as: Sárbogárd, Sárszentmiklós, Sáregres, Sárcece, Sárszentlőrinc, Sárpilis, etc.

Sárköz (Sárközség; 1521: Sarkez; in 1459, and also earlier in the papal tax-assessment record; in this period also the name of a deanery; PESTY, Az elt. régi várm., 225); lies on the lower section of the Sárvize, in Tolna County. The Kalocsa-Baja portion of the Danube is here swelled by the waters of the Sió, the Koppány, and

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133 the Kapos; and along its right bank the winding river formed a region broken by innumerable streamlets, backwaters, 'little-Danubes', constituting an extensive, muddy 'Vizköz /(area surrounded by water)/', which existed until not too long ago. On the west it has a distinct boundary in the hill range of Szekszárd-Báta. The Danube--in earlier times was not even suitable for a political boundary line, especially, as its left bank was the same type of 'sárköz /(muddy region)/' as the Tolna portion; (we will discuss
[162] this later). The typical ethnic groups of the Sárköz of County Tolna are the inhabitants of: Öcsény, Decs, Sárpilis, Alsónyék, Báta. The onetime life pattern of this region has lived only in tradition ever since the time when the waters were channeled.

Völgység, in the neighborhood of Sárköz and Mezőföld, in the bend of the Kapos and Sárviz rivers, bound by the two, constitutes, also, a political unit--as the District of Tolna.

The Mecsek region, a continuation of the area to the south, lies in Baranya County, with numerous Magyar villages guarding many ancient customs. Some of the villages are Hosszúhetény, Zengővárkony, Mánfa, Budafa, etc.

Ormányság (Ormánság, 1257: inter Drawam et Vrman CSÁNKI, II. 520), in Baranya County, lies, according to a description from about a hundred years ago, 'from the bridge of Lak in the outskirts of Kémes to the tip of the County, to the village of Bogdása on the Dráva River', and includes 22 Magyar and once Croatian (Sztára) village. Between the Villány Mountain and the Dráva River, covering the drainage area of the Feketeviz and Okor streams, the region consists of a chain of singularly typical small areas encircled by water, which in earlier days were covered with forests; and therefore, it has many smaller units ('vizköz'); and formerly it had even more. Ormányköz, Bőköz, Okorvidek (1267: in districtu Ormankuz CSANKI, II, 533, MNy. XXV, 24; 1494-9: Poss. Beulkewz CSANKI, II, 472; 1183: iuxta Okur /8/ CSÁNKI, II, 512.). The region of Dráva-Dunaszög is called: the Alvidék. (Other names: KISS, Ormányság, 10.1.).

Somogy (Somogyság, Somogyország, 1055: Sumig NyK. XXV, 142, Somogyság ÉRDY C. MNy. XXII, 187) this territory is divided into two parts by geography and ethnography. Belső-Somogy /(Inner-Somogy)/: The southern part of the county, also separated politically, comprises the area of the districts of Kaposvár, Szigetvár, Nagyatád,

and Csurgó, lying south of the Kapos River. Külső-Somogy /(Outer-361
Somogy)/ is the rest of the county. Roughly, the line drawn be- 133
tween Dombóvár-Kaposvár-Nagykanizsa may be considered the dividing boundary between the two. It has two ethnographically typical areas worthy of mentioning: the hilly country south of the Kapos River, the Zselic (Zsilic, Zelicség); and the neighboring villages of Buzsák, Tótszentpál, and Varjaskér, which are of Slovak origin, located just behind Nagyberek on Lake Balaton in the Lengyeltót District in the neighborhood of other villages of similar or of Southern Slavic origin. The most characteristic Magyar villages of the two different areas are: Kiliti, Szenna, Csököly, Csurgó, Iharosberény, etc.

The great water area of Lake Balaton, especially in earlier times, created a peculiar brand of coastal and aquatic life and joined the inhabitants of the two shores, which in many respects differ remarkably from each other geographically into a similar life and cultural pattern. The people name their shore lines after areas of political subdivisions: Somogy, Szala, Veszprém side. (The Balatonfelvidék /(Balaton highland)/ name of the northern shore has literary origin.)

In close connection and in a related form of culture with the 361
people of the Southern Dunántúl live, close to each other, the 101
inhabitants of three Magyar villages located on the other side of the Drava River (Szlavonia): In Szerém County, Kórógy; in Verőce County, Haraszti and Szentlászló; all three of them were built in the flats of the Vuka River, which has been regulated since; (Haraszti's position today is its third--because of the water). According to their tradition, they settled here at the time of the Tartar invasion of Hungary (in 1242). They were serfs of the freehold estate of Vukovár. All of them belong to the Reformed Church. The fourth Magyar village of Slavonia is Rétfala, near Eszék, the population is mixed, there are Serbian, Croatian, German, Czech, and Slovak inhabitants. The Magyar inhabitants of the four villages are called mockingly 'brendzó' ('brencó', 'berencó') by the people of Baranya. The local nicknames of the people of Szentlászló are 'bohó', 'puzás', 'taporcai;' that of the people of Haraszti, 'bóbac'; the inhabitants of Rétfalu are also called 'puzás' The inhabitants of these villages call the people of Baranya and Bácska by these three names.

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631 Other parts of the Dunántúl, which were not mentioned here in the line of ethnic groups and regions, are ordinarily recognized by the name of the county. The counties are nothing more than units organized substantially under national, possessory, military, economical, political, and geographical influences; /9/ the earliest vague boundary lines were preserved mainly by boundaries of the more conservative units of ecclesiastical government (bishoprics, abbacies), which usually follow the political subdivision of the area. Where the later often recurring reorganization did not change the original units to a great extent, we find in the name of the county, also the name of a broader native area (of Somogy, of Baranya, of Vas, etc.). This observation should be remembered when reading the following chapters.

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7 [see also cat. 116 p. 10 -- Analyst]

the Magyars of the Felsőőr Area)/. Földr. Közl. 1926. 000

3. ALFÖLD. -- The greater part of the Alföld is an area 361
divested of its original settlemental, economical, political, and geographical (topographical) character, with a population mixed by need or consciously, as a result of the Turkish occupation of Hungary /(in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)/ and its consequences. Up to 1669 -- acording to a census from that period--already about 900 villages had become deserted. Its geographical characteristics (its flatness, level surface) were from the earliest times little suited to the formation of distinctly separable ethnic groups. When its inhabitants resettled, or wandered, 'ran away', sneaked away, or stayed accidentally and without intention in the same place, all these actions did not serve the purpose of preserving traditional forms. Fragments of such forms were left behind only in places which were protected by watery regions at the times of historical upheavals, but even there they were often disturbed by boundaries of political subdivisions. On the other hand, the new formations--almost from their beginnings--may be studied from their birth, in the process of development; and we can observe the life of ethnic signs in the process of their friction and integration with each other.

Not even the word Alföld is traditional; as a technical term of geographical science it is a young creation. In earlier times it designated the area which lay 'downwards' from the governmental center, that is to the south of it, with a changing quality as to its meaning /10/ (1808: 'pars inferior regni'; 1242: Olfeld (Zsupánság of Bosnia; Dolni Kraj); 1526: The Alffelden at the Dwna; Erdy C. NySz. --1578: Alpheody, 1590: Alfeöld MNy. II, 123). After the Turkish occupation the Alföld was given the name Puszta, which is to be found today in so many village names of the area. The word 'puszta' originally designated the deserted area of the destroyed place (village) (--may be found in other places in the land, for example: in Transylvania: Pusztakamarás--); on the Alföld Tetétlenpuszta, Tázlár-puszta, Kölesér-puszta, formerly Puszta-Tetétlen, Puszta-Tázlár, etc.; (as early as the Middle Ages: 1384: Pusztascentmihal, 1468: Banpwztha OSz.; In Transylvania in 1421: Pwztakamaras CSÁNKI V. 395). Just like Pusztapó today (Puszta-Pó); designates the deserted areas of the destroyed villages of Tetétlen, Tázlár, Kölesér, Pata, and Pó. In their places there

developed either central units of large agricultural estates ('pusztak' with a population of hired farm laborers), or--using the term popular in the southern Alföld--szállás--or the term popular in other parts, and adopted more generally--tanya-communities, which came into being partly under the protection and government of the cities which were not destroyed, behind the walls of which the population of the nearby villages took refuge (during the Turkish occupation, more than once, during a single night). In this way some of the villages, earlier of an urban character, grew into agricultural 'peasant' cities covering immense areas (Kecskemét, Szeged, Szabadka, Hódmezővásárhely, Debrecen, etc.); all of which, closed into a tremendous 'pusztagyepu /(surrounding puszta region)/; consider themselves separate ethnic units (for expl. Debrecen 'within Basahalom'); and in most of the cases they actually constitute such units. (There are examples in the past of their joining together: Cegléd, Kecskemét, Nagykőrös: the 'Three cities').

The largest such 'pusztaság' was, as late as the second half of the last century, an area south from the Budapest-Cegléd line, approximately extending to Halas between the Danube and Tisza Rivers, and consisting of 2500 km.^{2}; the passable sandy surface of which served as one of the main routes of traffic between Vienna, Buda, and Belgrad, during the Turkish occupation, and even later. The foreign traveler was amazed to see the endless 'Puszta' scene and the economic form of life the backbone of which was nomadic animal husbandry. This explains the sixteenth century meaning of the word 'from the Alföld', which uses the terms alfeoldy, alpheod 'ochsenhandelsleut', to designate those "who drive cattle from the Alfeold and the land of the pagans", or in other words 'hajtók /(drivers)/'.

From the great uniformity of the Alföld two considerable sandy elevations rise above the average level; one, (called by its partial name) the Homokság, lies between the Danube and the TiszaRiver, extending from the Budapest-Cegléd line to the Ferenc Canal; the other is the Nyirség which rises from the lowlands of the Tisza-Szamos-Kraszna-Ér-Berettyó-HortobágyRivers. /11/ The position of these elevations and the surrounding lowlands and their relations to the encircling and traversing rivers influenced the development of characteristic geographical regions, and economical, political, and in general historical ethnic units; independently from them similar groups came into being around the Tisza, Berettyó, Körös, and Maros Rivers.

and Maros Rivers.

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To turn our attention to the particular regions, areas, and ethnic groups: the best crossing place from the Dunántúl is the Sárköz region of Tolna, which has a complementary part, forming one unit with it, on the left bank of the Danube. Its name is also identical, it is called: Sárköz. During the Middle Ages--partly--this region was situated on the right bank of the Danube and belonged to Tolna County; just before the Turkish conquest of Hungary the villages of Csanád, Sükösd, Kákony, Szentistván, Istvánmegye, and Szeremle, which used to belong to Pest County, and today belong to it only partly, --belonged to Bodrog County.-- According to the papal land assessment register, one of the archdeaneries of the Archbishopric of Kalocsa was situated in 'Sárköz'; in the fifteenth century the Fajsz branch of the Abbacy of Szekszárd (Fajsz today is on the left bank of the Danube) was also situated in 'Sárköz'; and Szakmár, about fifteen kilometers east of the Danube, belonged to this. The village of Szanto of County Bodrog was also in 'Sárköz' before the Turkish conquest. These facts--which in general show the historical role played by bodies of water--serve as proof of the role of the Danube and other lowland rivers as a divider or unifier of areas.

Ethnographically we may add to Sárköz the villages of the triangle between Dunapataj-Kiskörös-Baja and the Danube typical of which are: Bogyiszló É sekcsanád, Bajaszentistván, Szeremle. The scenery is also peculiar; there is abundant vegetation of a meadow character called 'turján' ('turjány').

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Above Sárköz, between the sandy region and the Danube, as a continuation of the formerly discussed geographical and ethnographical region, from Sárköz to Dömsöd extend the marshy grasslands, turjans of the onetime Solt (Zsolt) County (later district), consisting roughly of todays Rackeve and Dunavecse districts; an area in the hiding places of which the more fortunate portion of the population was able to stay during the Turkish occupation, like the inhabitants of Pereg, Dömsöd, Dab, Tass, Szalkszentmárton, Dunavecse, Solt, Dunapataj, Ordas. The Zsolt area was, during the Middle Ages, a thickly populated part of Fejér County.

In that part of the area between the Danube and Tisza Rivers, which lies to the south from Sárköz, we mention Bács County, named after the once existent Bács city, which is known more commonly as: Bácska (Bácskaság). During the Turkish occupation its Magyar population perished completely. The same fate was

361 shared by the area south of the Maros River, /12/ which was known
101 under the names Torontál, Temes, Krassó-Szörény Counties, and after the liberation from the Turkish rule as Bánság (Bánát, 'Banatus': 1716: Banatus Temesiensis, 1748: Temesvári Bánát MNy. XI, 39). Its settlement was only partly done by Magyar settlers from different parts of the country. For this reason, almost everyone of its villages constitutes a separate ethnic unit. As an example we mention Bácska. The settlement of the Magyars here took about a hundred years, more precisely between 1733-1820. Their greater number came from the Catholic population of Tolna, Baranya, Veszprém, Somogy, Zala; and a smaller part came from that of Pest, Heves, Nógrád, and the Jászság. During the period of Josef II, a few Reformed villages were also settled; at this time Reformed Magyars from Kunhegyes and Tiszabura settled in Feketehegy; from Tiszaroff and Tiszaderzs in Piros; from Nagykunság, Jászkisér, and Törökszentmiklós in Tetetlen, Kossuthfalva, and Pacsér. Similarly, in Torontál a total of 40 villages were populated by Magyars coming from different places. Its youngest settlement is Sándoregyháza, populated by Csangos /(Hungarian speaking natives of Moldavia)/ from Bukovina. There are similar sporadic settlements north of the Maros River.

The barren Homok /(sand)/ which extends south of Kecskemét to the border of the county, --especially since Petőfi--is identified in literature and in the popular mind with the concept of the Kis-Kunság /(Little Cumania)/. Actually, the latter would be an easily separable and determinable political unit, a privileged group which remained in its place since the Tartar conquest, and consequently, a peculiar ethnographical unit, if it had not shared the fate of the whole area between the Danube and Tisza Rivers (with the exception of the above mentioned watery regions: the people of Sárköz, of Zsolt, and perhaps, also, those of the similarly isolated Izsák). Thus, those who shared a typical fate are not the latter, but, for example, Kiskörös, which was resettled from the Slovak population of Nógrád, Hont, Nyitra, and Túróc, --or Prónayfalva, --which was established on the area of the pusztas of the Cumanian Tázlár, Harka, Kötöny, and Halas, its population coming from numerous counties and villages, the exact origin of which is impossible to determine. Only four privileged Little Cumanian villages survived the Turkish occupation: Lacháza, Szentmiklós, Szabadszállás, and Fülöpszállás, which were built in a more isolated watery area, similar to that of Zsolt.

The mass settlement of the Jász-Kuns /(Jazygian Cumanians)/ (1297: Stephani dicti Kun, 1503: Johannes Kyskun; 1349: Stephano dicto Jaz OSz.) between the rivers Danube and Tisza, Körös and Maros, and Maros and Temes occurred in the thirteenth century; the form of their self-governing organization was the 'szék /(chair)/'; they had seven széks: 'Hontos', Mizse, Kecskemét, Halas, 'Zentelt', Kobász, and Berény. Later from these the three Jász-kun areas developed: /13/ Jászság /(Jazygia)/, Nagy-Kunság /(Great Cumania)/, and Kis-Kunság /(Little Cumania)/ (1808: Jászság, Nagy, Kunság, Kis Kunság, LIPSZKY, Tabula generalis regni Hung., etc.). The latter, for example, was formed from the Széks of Kecskemét, Mizse, and Halas. -- When looking at the more stabilized conditions which are of more ethnographical interest, we find in the beginning of the nineteenth century the following Jász-kun villages: -- 1. Those in the Jászság: Jászberény, Jászapáti, Árokszállás, Fénszaru, Alsószentgyörgy, Dózsa, Jákóhalma, Mihálytelek, Jászladány, Jászkisér, Négyszállás, Ágó, Boldogháza (in more detail, and with contemporary spelling: HORVATH, P., Commentatio de Initiis et Majoribus Jazygum etc. 1801.); -- 2. Those in the Nagykunság: Karcagujszállás, Kunmadaras, Kunhegyes, Kisujszállás, Kunszentmárton, Túrkeve; -- 3. Those in the Kiskunság: Halas, Kiskunfélegyháza, Kunszentmiklós, Lacháza, Szabadszállas, Fülöpszállás, Dorozsma, Majsa; each district or the villages (cities) have, also, extensive pusztas, which actually are areas annexed from the villages destroyed in the past. In the nineteenth century certain thickly populated villages were entirely resettled and lost their original characteristics, like Kunszentmárton, Dorozsma, Kiskunfélegyháza, etc. From the middle of the eighteenth century (from 1745) only the 'redemptus' is legally a Jazygian Cumanian; in other words, only those who contributed to the redemption ('redemptio') of Jász-Kunság, which was mortgaged to a German order of knights in 1703. They were the true citizens of Kunság and Jászság, and the possessors of commonage and autonomy privileges. The tripartite Jászkun district was absorbed into Pest-Pilis-Solt-and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Counties during the general reorganization of counties in the 1870's. These are the 'must counties'. The prolific and astute Jasygians sent their settlers into the region between the Danube and the Tisza rivers, across the Tisza River, into Nagykunság, into Szolnok County, and into the Bácska

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101 (into the latter there was influx, also, from Nagykunság). In the northern part of Pest County, merged with the Palots, their presence can also be found. A characteristic village of this type is Boldog, which is in the immediate neighborhood of Jászság. The Jazygians and Cumanians are also divided with respect to religious denominations: the Jazygians are Roman Catholics (with the exception of the village of Jászkisér), the Cumanians are Reformed; they learned the Magyar language, also, from different national groups, as their present dialect leads us to conclude; the type of land they are settled on differs also: Jászság and Kiskunság is settled on sand, while the Nagykunság established themselves on firm soil.

The Cumanians of Nagykunság are in a close ethnographical relationship with Hajduság (group of Hajdus), a group developed in more recent history with historical privileges, in today's Hajdu, Bihar, and Szabolcs Counties. The six independent Hajdu cities of the later period constituted autonomous units similar to the Kun territories /14/ since 1791, when they were, through an act of the lawmakers, taken from under the authority of the counties. They retained their independent character until the reorganization of the counties in the 1870's. The six cities--represent the most characteristic Hajduság--: Böszörmeny, Szoboszló, Nánás, Hadház, Dorog, and Vámospércs (in today's Hajdu County).

A substantial number of the Hajdus came from the members of the above mentioned alfeödy ('ochsenhandelsleut') 'hajtó /(driver)/' profession, who joined the armies of the princes of Transylvania to fight against Vienna for national and religious freedom (1500-1510: Hajdo Barlobas OSz.; 1584: Hajdones . . . pedestris ordinis milites NySz.). The first Hajdu privilege was created in 1605 when Prince BOCSKAY rewarded more than 9000 of his Hajdu warriors by raising them collectively to the rank of nobles and deeded to them the city of Kálló; the pusztas of Nánás, Dorog, and Varjas; the estates of Hadház, Vámos, Pércs, Sima, and Vid; and in 1606, also the city of Szoboszló. Similar noble Hajdus were settled in the following villages of Bihar County: Szalonta (Kölesér), Ürögd, Szentmárton, Tamási, Harsány, Kőrösszeg, Komádi, Vekerd, Sas, Régen, Félegyháza, Bagamér, Mikepércs, Bagos, Konyár, Derecske, Herpály, Berettyóújfalu, Kaba, Sáránd, Tépe. In 1609 the Hajdus of Kálló in exchange for Kálló received the villages of Böszörmény and Pród. Sarkad received its Hajdu independence in 1644, and there

were a few more Hajdu settlements in other regions, too. After the reannexation of Transylvania, the privileges of those who received them collectively and not individually were not recognized by the Chamber; and almost all the remaining villages became privately owned; as a consequence, serfs of a different origin, also, settled among their population. These were mostly Roman Catholics; thus, in the territory of the Reformed Hajdus and in general in the area on the other side of the Tisza River, religious denomination is also an ethnic sign (similarly in Kiskunság). Those belonging to the Reformed Church are the more free, older, more strongly rooted Magyars. According to this twofold origin, for instance, Berettyóújfalu has two 'szer': its Hajduszer and Parasztszer /(Peasant szer)/.

The settlement of the Hajdus on waste 'sand' and 'fen' appears to be a repetition of the first settlement of the Jazygian-Cuman[illegible]. Both of them were warlike peoples, engaged in nomadic animal husbandry. Part of the Hajdus settled in the region known as the two Sarrets (by its old name: 1615: Rétköz MNy. IX, 223), an area of marshes and reeds, where they established themselves among the swamps, canals, streamlets, hidden meadows, 'balkány'-s, many 'islets', and 'ormágy'-s, and higher land. Its geographical position formed and preserved the life pattern and ethnographical characteristics of the inhabitants of the region, including that of the non-Hajdus who settled there later. Originally Sárrét was part of the flats of the Ér, Berettyó, Sebes-Körös, Fekete-Körös Rivers /15/ (before the river was channelled). Its major part (in the area where Bihar, Békés, and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Counties meet) is called Nagy-Sárrét /(Great Sarret)/ Sárret of the Berettyó; its minor portion on the flatlands of the Sebes and Fekete-Körös Rivers in the Bihar-Békés area is called Kis-Sárrét /(Little Sarret)/ (Sárrét of Bihar; in earlier periods also a district of Bihar County: the Sárrét District). Nagy-Sárrét had additional abundant water supply from the Hortobágy River, which brought the floodwaters of the Tisza River. All this, in the recent past, constituted the world of the people of the meadows, the fishermen, and the nomadic herdsmen.

Adjacent to Sárrét is the Hortobágy melléke /(Hortobagy region)/ of a higher elevation (according to local pronunciation Hortobágy mejjike, its literary name 'Hortobágy puszta'), a region

left barren by deserted villages (Ohát, Zám, Máta, etc.), which was mostly incorporated by Debrecen, the 'civis city', the city of 'civis citizens', by its nickname the Calvinistic Rome', which in itself forms a distinctly characteristic unit. The area is one of the few remaining refuges of extensive nomadic animal husbandry. 361 133

The hill country between the Ér and Berettyó Rivers is called: Érmellék; it is an important wine district, extending from the Szalacs-Margita line to Félegyház. The area between the hills of Érmellek and the Réz Mountain surrounding the Berettyó River, extending as far as Bihar village, or the Kösmő Creek, belongs in another class of topographical types, and it is called Hegyköz.

The Ér, Tur, Szamos, and Tisza Rivers, according to the terminology used in the Upper-Tisza region, have 'hátjai /(backs)/', with rows of villages, which are held by the waters 'on their backs', They are not hills, not even mounds, merely the banks of the river at the edge of the flats; sometimes they are not even near the river; (Szentmihály on the 'tiszahát' is about eight kilometers away from the nearest bend of the Tisza River). This row of villages by the water and the general areas are called: Érhát, Turhát, Szamoshát, Tiszahát (1307: Er prope Diozeg OSz., as to creation of names: 1109: Érhat OSz.). There is a Tiszahát of Szatmár, of Bereg, of Szabolcs. The latter, for example, on the basis of local observation (on the left bank) includes the following villages: Tiszaeszlár, Tiszalök, Tiszab[illegible] Szentmihály, Tiszadada, Tiszadob, Tiszapolgár; (on the right bank): Tiszaladány, Tardos, Csobaj, Baj, Taktakenéz, Prügy (in earlier days called Pthrügy, according to local pronunciation: Tügy). The whole group of the latter villages is known as the Taktaköz, an island-like area encircled by the so-called Takta, which actually is a branch of the Tisza River. It neighbors on the area between the Sajó River and the Takta, and is encircled by the Zemplén bend of the Sajó, called Harangod. The villages of this area, the Taktaköz, and the village of Tiszapolgár show many typical characteristics of the Felföld and its Palots groups.

/16/ At two places in the abundantly watered area of the Ér, Kraszna, Szamos, Tur, Borsova, and Latorca Rivers permanent and substantial bodies of water accumulated; these two are the Ecsedi-láp /(Moor of Ecsed)/ by its local name: Rét, and the Szernye (Swamp). The former is a moorland, situated on the left bank of the Szamos River, extending to the more elevated parts of the sandy

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areas of Nyir, which provided a peculiar form of marsh and meadow life to the about twenty villages which settled down around it (before the water regulations). Its northern part between Mátészalka, Kocsord, Győrtelek, and Nagyecsed is known as the Kis-láp /(Little Moor)/; the rest is the Nagy-láp /(Great Moor)/.

The region between the Tisza and Szamos Rivers has been known since early times as Szamosköz (not so long ago one of the districts of Szatmár County had the same name: Szamosköz District; the area between the Szamos and Kraszna Rivers was the Krasznaközi District).

We have to mention two more of the larger in-between water areas in the Tisza region which surround, together with the above mentioned regions, the great sandy elevation of Nyir. One of them is Rétköz situated north of the sandy elevation of Szabolcs, between the Lónyay-canal and the Tisza River, having been at onetime the meeting place of the floodwaters of the Tisza and those of the Nyirség region. The other is Bodrogköz, bound by the Latorca, Bodrog, and Tisza Rivers (1456: Thyzabodrogkez OSz.) its Tisza area (from Cigánd downwards) is called Hosszúrét, and it is sparsely populated.

Surrounded by the above mentioned watery regions rises a sandy plain, with smaller and larger bodies of accumulated water, at one time white with birch forests, mainly a part of Szabolcs County, and in a smaller portion part of Hajdu, Bihar, and Szatmár Counties, called Nyir (Nyirség, Nyirvidék), which was known under this same name in the Middle Ages as a singular unit 'partes', 'provincia', 'comitatus' (around 1200: A siluis Nyr, Per partes Nyr Osz.), next to Rétköz, with 'Nyir egyháza /(Nyir one house)/,' in its center. Because of its sands it is an area more easily accessible to mounted armies than the surrounding marshy regions and, as a result, it suffered more destruction. The city of Nyiregyháza itself, for instance, in 1707 had only 49 'külön kenyeres ember /(man of independent bread)/'; it gained in population in 1753 by the influx of Slovaks from the region of Szarvas, Csaba, Mezőberény, and Orosháza, whose descendants are the 'Tirpák', Of the 'Nyir /(Birch)/' itself hardly anything was left; and with it disappeared the domestic industry of birch-oil, birch-balsam, birch-brandy, birch-broom, and birch-hoop, and many other characteristics of the old 'Nyir'.

133 These areas of the Upper-Tisza region were originally surrounded
361 on the north and east and from the direction of the slopes of the Transylvanian Central Mountains by extensive forests. Such forest regions were represented by the once existent Erdőhát between the Kőrös Rivers; the Belényes region of the onetime 'bölényes /(of the buffalos)/' forest in the valley of the Fekete-Kőrös River with its Magyars of a peculiar appearance /17/(whose forefathers, according to tradition, 'came from the land of the Székely'); Szilágyság, situated behind Érmellék; Bükkalja of the Szamos region of Szatmár County; Avasság below and between the Avas Mountain; Tiszavölgy of Máramaros County (even today this is a major timbering area); Bereg itself (in the Middle Ages Beruk, 'Berek'); and most of all the Erdő /(forest)/ which lent its name to Erdély /(Transylvania)/. According to literary tradition, this 'erdő /(forest)/' would be the Szilágyság. Szilágyság (around 1200: Zyloc Anon.) extends roughly over the area of the present Szilágy County; in the past, one part of it belonged to Közép-Szolnok County, and that part, known as the Kővár region, became an independent governmental unit, remaining such until the reorganization of the counties in the 1870's. The name 'Sylvania' given to Szilágyság, from which, it is said, Erdély received its Latin name of 'Ultrasylvania' or 'Transylvania' is probably the product of humanistic etymology. Szilágyság always was, and still is, an area the boundaries of which cannot be precisely drawn. At times it has been a part of Transylvania, and according to the present governmental subdivision of the Reformed Church, it still is treated as Transylvania. Its center is Zilah (according to local pronunciation: Zilaj).

113 References: BÁTKY, Alföld. MNy. XII, 333. -- ECSEDI, A Hortobágy-puszta és élete /(Life of the Hortobágy-Puszta)/. Debrecen, 1914. -- ÉBNER, A Bodrogköz lápi községeinek településföldrajzi vázlata /(An Outline of the Geographical Settlement-Pattern of the Moor Villages of the Bodrogkoz)/. Föld és ember /(Soil and Man)/, 1925. -- GYÁRFÁS, A jász-kunok története /(History of the Jazygian-Cumanians)/. I-IV. Kecskemét, Szolnok, Bpest, 1870-1885. -- GYŐRFFY, A feketekőrösvölgyi magyarság települése /(Settlement of the Magyars of the Fekete-Kőrös Valley)/. Az erdélyi magyarság eredete /(Origin of the Magyars of Transylvania)/. Földr. Közl. 1913. -- GYŐRFFY, A hajduk eredete /(origin of the Hajdus)/. Bpest, 1927. -- KARÁCSONYI, Békés vm. története /(History of Békés County)/. Gyula, 1896. -- LAJOS KISS, A Rétköz /(The Rétköz)/. A Magy.

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4. FELFÖLD. -- The country above the Alföld, consisting of the northern mountain regions, as contrasted with the 'alföld /(low land)/' logically would be called 'Felföld /(highland)/' (1469: Paulus Felfudi, 1575: fel föld, Fel földi magyaroc NySz.), but actually this name, just like the name Felső-Magyarország /(Upper-Hungary)/ is of a literary origin; its more commonly used name being Felvidék /(Up-country)/. The inhabitants of the area do not include the whole of Upper-Hungary under this name, using it merely to designate, from place to place, the region lying 'upward', 'toward the mountains' from them. (In reverse, in a downward direction the following regions are designated as ' alvidékek' or 'alföldek /(lowlands)/'; even the shepherds of the Bodva Valley use the term Alföld in this manner.) 133 361

In the Felföld we find larger units of Magyar ethnic groups only at the middle and lower sections of rivers which run to the south. After leaving the lowlands of the Upper-Tisza, /18/ we find above Bodrogköz the famous region of Hegyalja; the people of which have been molded into a peculiar unit in many respects by its extensive viniculture and wine production; and even its surrounding environment has been influenced by the peculiar needs of its industry (for instance, the making of casks, wooden vessels, etc.). According to a hundred year old determination, the villages of the wine-growing Hegyalja 'wine-region' include the following: Szántó, 101 133 361

361 Golop, Tállya, Rátka, Ond, Mád, Zombor, Tarcal, Tokaj, Olaszi-Liszka, Erdőbénye, Tolcsva, Bodrog-Keresztur, Erdő-Horváthi, Zsadany, Olaszi, Sáros-Patak, Sátoralja-Ujhely, and Kis-Toronya. (The above list does not, in every respect, agree with the more recent economic determination of the area included in the so-called 'wine region' of Tokaj-Hegyalja.) More broadly described, the region covers the southeastern slope of the Sátor Mountains (Mountains of Eperjes-Tokaj), between the Bodrog and Hernád Rivers, in today's Zemplén and Abauj-Torna Counties.

101 The Magyar population of the area west of Hegyalja, the Hernád, Bodva, and Sajó valleys, and of the plains below the Bükk and Mátra mountains, and between the Eger and Tarna Rivers, together with the lower section of the Galga Valley and the formerly discussed Jászság, constitute in many respects a transitional chain of ethnic regions between the neighboring areas of the Palots groups and the people of the Alföld. These areas are the immediate 'alvidék'-s or 'alföld's /(lowlands)/'--to use the expressions popular in Heves and Borsod Counties--of the 'Felvidék', which has many characteristics of the Palots. Of these people the most characteristic groups are formed by the inhabitants of the three villages under the Bükk Mountains of Mezőkövesd, Tard, and Szentistván, who are called Matyó or Matyók (in plural Matyók-ok, CZUCZOR-FOG.), and known by their neighbors also as tartars. They may have acquired their name from the Cumanian-Hajdu Magyars, who used the Christian name Mátyás (like Istók, Bertók), or its Slovak form Matyó (like Janó; 1598: Johannes Mattho OSz.; 1787: Matyó MNy. X, 270) very frequently. The Reformed Magyars of the villages of Feketehegy in Bácska call the Roman Catholics or 'papists' mockingly by the 'Matyó' name. (In retaliation these people call the inhabitants of Feketehegy by the name 'Bunkó'.) The Matyos themselves explain their name by referring to the fables about King Mátyás /(Matthias)/.

Above these transitional regions we find the Palots group, which, despite its great masses, shows a remarkable unity in many respects. The word Palóc /(Palots)/ is a nickname, and the people do not like to hear it. The central region of the Palots land is the Mátra Area (roughly the onetime Country of Pata, extending further over the regions of the Börzsöny, Karancs, and Bükk mountains, more precisely over the area between the Ipoly and Sajó Rivers, which is divided--merely geographically--by the mountains and by the

Galga, Zagyva, Tarna, and Eger Rivers. The northern boundary 101
of the Palots region is marked linguistically by the Slovak language. The population of the area which may be classified on a geographical basis as Palots is known in literature as the people of Nógrád, Karancsalj, Mátravidék, Heves, Borsod, Gömör; their entity constituting the Eastern Palots Group. The inhabitants of the Erdőhát of Gömör, /19/ who show Palots characteristics, are called by a name similarly mocking in flavor: Barkó (1495: Emerico Barko OSz., like Matyó). Efforts to draw the precise boundaries of the Palots area by listing the names of the villages supposedly belonging to it cannot be taken seriously. Such determination can be made only upon a historical or political basis (Jazygian-Cumanians, the people of Őrség, Székelys, Hajdus); but such historical separation is no obstacle to exchange of cultural forms, even if certain prohibitions (such as the manner of dress) served the artificial isolation.

As we have said before, certain characteristics of Palots cultural forms may be found among the groups of people who live to the south and the east on the Alföld, and even more so among those inhabiting the mountain region to the west, which includes parts of Hont (huntyiak--v. o. Hunt-Pázmán--), Bars, and Nyitra Counties, even though writers native to the Palots region claim that the people of Hont are not Palots. We may summarily call the group west of Hont the Western Palots Group.

In the area of Duna-elve (1575: Dunaelue felső Magyar ország, 361
Heltai-krón. NySz.), which extends to the west above the Danube River, as a remnant of a political subdivision from the Middle Ages, the Mátyusföldje name and region has been preserved (1436: Mathiusfewldy; OSz.). Its name was derived from MÁTE CSÁK, Palatine, and Lord Lieutenant of Pozsony, who ruled the area as a rebellious oligarch († 1321). Today's Mátyusföldje consists roughly of the districts of Pozsony County lying above Csallóköz, the Galánta and Alsó-Nyitra districts, and the Udvard District of Komárom County (and perhaps the Párkány District of Esztergom County). The [101]
inhabitants of Csallóköz call the people living between the Danube and Vág Rivers 'those of Mátyusföld'.

Where the mountain range of the Kis-Kárpátok /(Little- 133
Carpathians)/ divides Pozsony County in two, the foothill region that falls on this side, the southeastern side, is known as the fourth 'Hegyalja' of the country, called more precisely Hegyalatt (district of ecclesiastical subdivision); the area that falls on the

138 other side of the mountains is known as Hegyen túl /(on the other side of the mountain)/ (in earlier times it was also the name of a district: Hegyentúl District).

113 References: GYÖRFFY, A matyók /(The Matyos)/. Népünk és Nyelvünk /(Our People and Our Language)/. I, 137. -- ISTVÁNFFY, A matyó nép élete /(Life of the Matyo People)/. Miskolc, 1897. -- Magyarország vármegyéi és városai /(Counties and Cities of Hungary)/. Pozsony vm. /(Pozsony County)/--Heves vm. /(Heves County)/--Gömör-Kishont vm. /(Gömör-Kishont County)/--Nógrád vm. /(Nógrád County)/--Borsod vm. /(Borsod County)/--Nyitra vm. /(Nyitra County)/. -- MALONYAY, A magyar nép művészete /(Art of the Hungarian People)/. V. Hont, Nógrád, Heves, Gömör, Borsod m. népe /(The People of Hont, Nógrád, Heves, Gömör, and Borsod Counties)/. A palócok művészete /(Art of the Palots)/. Bpest, 1922. -- PINTÉR, A palócokról /(About the Palots)/. Népismertető tanulmány (Ethnographical Study)/. Bepest, 1880.

133 5. ERDÉLY. -- Magyar common knowledge knows only of one extensive region of the country which in itself constitutes a well recognized unit (in earlier times a separate country), and that is Erdély (according to some ancient sources Erdélység; according to the pronunciation of the inhabitants of the Trans-Tisza region Eirdeij; by another name /20/ Erdély-ország (around 1200: Erdeuelu Anon.;--Erdeel, Túróci-krón.)). Before 1542 the three 'nations' of Erdély (Magyar, Székely, and Saxon) constituted a politically sovereign, self-governing unit, which became later an independent principality. Its peculiar ethnographic picture is caused by its being separated from the mother-country for several hundred years, and by its geographic position of a closed highland unit. It had constant contact with the mother-country through the valleys of the Maros, Sebes-Kőrös, and Szamos Rivers, mainly because parts of the neighboring territories of Hungary were also parts of Erdély ('Partium') from time to time. During the Turkish occupation these contacts were more permanent--through the Szamos Valley--with the royal territory, the remnants of which contact can still be found among its folk-
101 cultural elements. The inhabitants of Erdély call their fellow countrymen, who do not come from Erdély, 'those from Hungary'. Erdély's three groups, determined on the linguistic basis: the Magyars (Székelys), Saxons, and Wallachians had more or less mutual influence upon each other. In contiguous regions parts of their cultural forms are

identical, and the only noticeable separating mark often is the language. 101

The Magyar group (not Székely) is represented in all former counties, and in contrast to the Székelys, who formerly lived in a system of 'szék' and not of 'counties', they may be called 'the Magyars of the Counties'. More precisely they may be distinguished as the Magyars of Kolozs County, of Torda County, of Hunyad County, etc. These groups constitute a chain of sporadic islands, and already for this reason they form separate ethnic units in themselves, despite the fact that they do not possess a comprehensive name which is peculiar to them only. These smaller units which might be labeled with the name of their county are influenced largely, as to their ethnographical color, by economic conditions which result from their geographic position. Consequently, their material cultural forms are especially widely varied.

Erdély's largest geographical unit or area, extending over four counties, is Mezőség (1447: Poss. Mesezilwas CSÁNKI, V, 412), a hilly country without any forests, in the past hardly passable, located between the two Szamos, the Sajó, Luc-creek which empties into the Maros, the Maros, Tur-creek which empties into the Aranyos, and the Aranyos River. Its center is Uzdiszentpéter, where at one time the population of the entire Mezőség gathered in the summer when it held its famous fairs which lasted for two weeks. Its common ethnographical traits with the groups which are in contact with it, the Saxons, the Wallachians, the Magyars of the Szamos region, the Magyars of Kalotaszeg, and the Székelys, can readily be seen. 361 101

Erdély's most definitely separated larger Magyar (not Székely) group is represented by the population of Kalotaszeg (1474: Kalotazegh (község) CSÁNKI, V, 365), in Kolozs County, in the valleys of the Kalota, Sebes-Kőrös, Almás, and Nádaspatak, scattered in about forty villages. At onetime parts of the region belonged to the Bishopric of Várad, under the name of the Archdeanery of Kalota. To this group we may add the villages of Magyarléta, /21/ and Tordaszentlászló of Torda-Aranyos County, and Győrfalva east of Kolozsvár, which have the same appearance as the villages of the group. The center of this region is Bánffyhunyad. According to local determination it is divided into

361
101 two parts: Felszeg and Alszeg.

Of the Magyars of Torda County two groups stand out strikingly, forming a separate unit, they are: Torockó and Totockószentgyörgy. The former, in earlier times enjoyed the privileges of a free 'city', the latter was a village of serfs. In the sixteenth century Torockó also lost its independent status and became privately owned. One of the oldest parts of its population came from Styria in the thirteenth century and mingled with the Magyars then living here. This group of German origin assimilated to the Magyars quickly during the Middle Ages; and it became part of the population of miners and 'craftsmen' in the iron industry, who prospered throughout the periods prior to the times of factory production, forming a close knit group withdrawn in their mountains, with a conservative attitude, and belonging to the Unitarian Church since the sixteenth century.

From among the other Magyars of the counties who live in island-like groups, we may mention the Magyar villages of Zselyk, Magyarnemegye, Nagysajó, Sófalva, Tacs of Beszterce-Naszód County; Domokos, Magyarlápos, Szék of Szolnok-Doboka County; Haró on the Maros River and Lozsád in Hunyad County; Hosdát, Rákosd, and Óraljboldogfalva around the fortress of Hunyad; Szakadát of Szeben County; Datk of Küküllő County; and the Magyar villages of the Hegyalja of Alsó-Fehér County, just as a few examples. Most of them are ethnographically completely unknown. Parts of Dés and Torda (New-Torda) have a population which had been settled by the princes of Erdély constituting a group of military origin, similar to the Hajdus.

We briefly mention two more Magyar groups of a more recent origin that also reside in Erdély: the Örmények /(Armenians)/ and the Magyars of Bözödújfalu who belong to the Jewish faith. The former group came from Moldavia during the seventeenth century, beginning in 1669, and settled in the largest numbers in the villages of Gyergyószentmiklós, Görgényszentimre, Felfalu, Petele, and Szépviz. Later, mainly as traders, they scattered over all the cities of Erdély. Their major stronghold is Szamosújvár which they built themselves in the eighteenth century on royal lands, in the place of the onetime village of Gerla. The Magyars of Bözödújfalu who follow the Jewish faith (Székelys) are the descendants of the Sabbatarians, who turned to the orthodox Jewish faith and adopted the customs of the Eastern-European Jewish groups.

Erdély's large closed unit, covering an area of serveral counties

Erdély's large closed unit, covering an area of several counties 36
is the Székelység (1095: scicul MNy. XVII, 100), the sole represent- 10
atives of the first conquerors of Erdély. Its area is the Székelyföld (jokingly: Szikulia; its inhabitants called mockingly: Góbé, Székely Gobé, Lófő; 1353: lwhfew; Szék. Okl. I, 63; the Székelys themselves proudly accept these names). Their ancient grouping, similar to that of the Magyars, was a national ('nemzet') one. From the thirteenth century on, the consciousness of a national organization /22/ begins to fade, and its place is taken--under the influence of geographical factors--by an organization on a territorial basis (iz the fourteenth century: Siculi terrae Sebus (Sepsi), Siculi de Kezd, univers[illegible]culorum de Telegd (Udvarhely)). Farther removed from the [illegible]oken area of Udvarhely (anyaszék), Maros-szék, Csik-szék, and Háromszék, on the banks of the Aranyos River reside the Székelys of Kézd, also descendants of the first conquerors, who received their estates in the thirteenth century from the lands belonging to the Fortress of Torda. The particular groups of the Székelys may be classified roughly on a historical (political) basis and according to their national areas, which were preserved through their system of 'szék'-s up to our days. The 'szék'-s ('sedes') as such developed during the fourteenth century. Here, as in some other Magyar areas, the earlier name of the 'szék' was 'comitatus' (1322: septem comitatus Sicolorum: 'the seven Székely széks'--not 'ispánság'). These seven széks which still exist in name are: Udvarhely, Maros, Csik, Sepsi, Kézdi, Orbai, and Aranyos; together they make up the 'Universitas Sicolorum septem sedium Siculicalium' (v.o. Universitas Saxonum: ' the Saxon Unit'). The 'Székely Lord Lieutenant' (1280: Comes Siculorum) appointed by the king stood at the top of the Székely unit; later this title was included with the king's other titles. Since the sixteenth century Udvarhely was mentioned to include Keresztúrfiszék (--Fiók-szék); and Csik to include Kászon and Gyergyó; and at the same time the name Háromszék appears to include Sepsi-, Kézdi-, and Orbai-széks, which area at this time is formed actually of 'four szék'-s,' as Miklósvárszék, organized somewhat later than the rest also belongs to it. Later Udvarhely was completed by the addition of Bardóc-fiszék, which consists of nine villages.

The széks are forms of political, judicial, and military districts, as compared to the Hungarian counties and districts; however, their organization and officers are not identical with the latter.

361 101 The Székelys even today think of their own groups according to széks, thus the native szék of each person also shows the clan he belongs to. To signify his local origin, the Székely first names his szék, then his village, thus, 'from Udvarhelyszék, and from Etéd'.

The units which were traditionally formed into széks are traversed by geographical conditions and by the economic situation following them; as a result, we find an ethnographical stock of wide variety, especially with respect to material stock. The life of the Nyárádmente region of Marosszék or that of the fertile plains of Szépmező in Háromszék differs from the life of the subalpine villages of Csik located in a pine-forest belt.

361 /23/ The people of the area are also aware of these differences. The region of Rika's Forest in Udvarhelyszék is divided by the population under the names of Rikán-innen /(this side of Rika)/ and Rikán-túl /(other side of Rika)/. (Bardóc-fiszék developed in the Rikán-túl region.) Gyergyó is not merely a historically developed unit but an ideal one even geographically; it is a typical 'region' in which naturally peculiar ethnographical characteristics appear. The ancient names Fel-Csik and Al-Csik which were given to regions came into being in a similar way, and Kászonszék became independent partly on such basis, as it is separated from Kézdi-szék by the waters of the Kászon. On the other hand, Szépmező of Sepsi and the Barcaság region of Brassó (1211: terram Borza, 1218: terram de Burza, 1349: terrae Barza, MNy. XI, 242.) are almost identical geographically; nevertheless, their ethnographical picture shows considerable differences. Names of rivers are often used in region names, like Marosmente, Homoródvidéke. The Sovidek /(Salt region)/--described so well by its name--includes the villages of Sóvárad, Szováta, Parajd, Alsó-and Felső-Sófalva, Korond, and Atyha, forming a distinct region in the valleys of the Kisküküllő and Korond Rivers. The valley of the Olt River between Hidvég and Felsőrákos and the valley on the Barót creek is called Erdővidék /(Forest region)/. The name Szentföld /(Holy Land)/ used mockingly can be found in two places: where the Roman Catholic Székely villages, usually named after the Saints, border on Protestant (Reformed) villages. One of them is the highland of Nyárád around the Franciscan Monastery of Mikház, the other is the Roman Catholic area of Háromszék.

000 In the middle of the thirteenth century the traditional Székely

101 In the middle of the thirteenth century the traditional Székely groups were disturbed by a measure of a military nature which also affected their customs: the organization of the so called Székely Border Guards, which forced many of the freedom loving and rebellious Székelys of Csik to leave their homes and settle on foreign soil. In other places (like in Hajduság, and example: Berettyóújfalu) similar movements divided the population socially: into 'those on the military side' and 'those on the serf side'.

361 101 At the beginning of nineteenth century (1. On LIPSZKY'S Map: Tabula generalis regni Hung. etc.) Erdély consisted of the following counties (comitatus): Hunyad, Zaránd, Kraszna, Közep-Szolnok, Belső-Szolnok, Doboka, Kolozs, Torda, Külküllő, Alsó-Fejér; its regions were (districtus): Fogaras, Kővár; its Székely széks (sedes): Aranyos, Maros, Udvarhely, Csik, Háromszék; its Saxon széks (sedes): Kőhalom, Segesvár, Nagy-Sink, Meggyes, Újegyháza, Szeben, Szerdahely, Szász-Sebes, Szászváros; its Saxon regions (districtus): Beszterce, Brassó ('vulgo' Barcza).

If we disregard the latest bitter political changes, all disturbances ended with the dissolution of the széks during the reorganization of the counties in the 1870's and their division into counties. Villages of the former counties were placed into the Székely group (for instance, Oláhfalu which fell outside the eastern line of the Székely villages of Udvarhely at the foot of the Hargita Mountain, /24/ and Bereck, located in front of the Ojtoz-Pass, etc.); and Székely villages were embodied into the former counties, for instance, the greater part of Marosszék was incorporated into Maros-Torda County and the whole of Aranyosszék into Torda-Aranyos County.

According to old and fairly reliable sources the 'Székely' also lived outside the historical Székely area, in Pozsony, Nyitra, Győr, Komárom, Sopron, Vas, Somogy, Zala, Veszprém, Fejér, Tolna, Baranya, and Bihar counties; but their origin as traced to the Székely of Erdély has never been proved; in many places it is merely a designation of their occupation ('speculatores', forest rangers, etc.), just like the word 'blach' or 'blak' (Oláh, Wallachian) meaning mountain shepherd, exists also outside of Erdély.

101 The non-Székely Magyars who live in scattered groups near the land of the Székelys are summed up by the Székely people (and following them, by literature) under the name: Csángó. The non-Székely Magyars living to the north and west (the inhabitants of Mezőség and of the former Torda County) do not fall under this

101 name. The name, according to today's ethnographical interpretation, attempted to describe the Magyars degenerated from the Székelys, having a 'non-Székely', times when the Székely Border Guards were organized, moving after Bukovina's liberation from the Turkish occupation to their present location, and establishing there their villages. The portion of the Csangos of Moldva who live in the Tatros valley and at the mouth of the Beszterce River are of a Szekely origin, while the portion living along the Szeret River /25/ and between the Szeret and PrutRivers comes from the 'Magyar' stock; they do not consider themselves Székely, but Magyars, and are also considered Magyars ('ungur') by the Rumanian speaking people of Moldavia and the Wallachians in general. A substantial number of the 'Magyars' of Moldavia have lost part of their ethnographical characteristics, including their language, and retained certain others from both categories; the material and intellectual kinds. They can easily be recognized and distinguished by their religion, which is Roman Catholic. Separated from Hungarian cultural development, living for centuries in a circle of Eastern-European and Byzantine culture, they constitute a Magyar group of Eastern-European character, preserving many ancient cultural elements, and from this point of view even more important than the other Magyar border groups.

101 Besides these groups, recently the Magyar population of the
361 villages of Krizba, Barcaújfalu, and Apáca in Brassó County; Datk and Halmágy in Nagyküküllő County; Árapatak, Bodola, Előpatak, Erősd, Nyén (not Székely) in Háromszék County; Szakadát 'Oláh like /(Wallachian)/' appearance(for example, wearing their shirt tails on the outside). Thus, the name Csángó is actually a nickname (1401: Georgius Chango OSz.), which is rejected by the so-called Csangos themselves. The Csangos cannot be placed within one ethnographical unit because of the great distances between their present groups, and the lack of evidence that they had contact with each other at a prior time. Parts of them can be traced back to a Székely origin; others have an unknown origin, traceable no further than the Middle Ages.

In common knowledge and in literature four of their groups are better known: the Csangos of Hétfalu, of Gyimes, of Bukovina, and of Moldva. The group of Hétfalu in Brassó County consists of 'seven villages': Bácsfalu, Tűrkös, Csernátfalu Hosszúfalu; and somewhat removed from them: Tatrang, Zajzon, and Purkerec; all

of which seem to have a Székely origin, mainly from Háromszék. 101
The Csangos of Gyimes in Csik County (but not in 'Csik-Szék') 361
live in the scattered mountain settlements of Gyimesfelsőlok, Gyimesközéplok, and Gyimesbükk in the upper Tatros basin in front of the Gyimes-Pass, having their place of origin in Csik-Szék. The Csangos of Bukovina inhabiting the villages of Józseffalva, Andrásfalva, Hadikfalva, Fogadjisten, and Istensegits represent a people of Székely origin (mainly from Csik), who settled first in Moldavia at the rebellious in Szeben County; and Zsombor in Udvarhely County were designated under the name 'Csángó'.

A small portion of the Csangos of Bukovina returned to their homeland during the 1870's; their new settlements can be found in the following places: Déva (Vajdahunyad, Csernakeresztúr; Hunyad County), Gyorok (Arad County), Székelykeve (Temes County), Sándoregyháza, Hertelendyfalva (Totontál County).

The area of the 'seven villages' located under the mountains of the Tömös- and Bodza-Passes, and that of the recently mentioned villages of Brassó County is known as: Barcaság or the region of the Barca (according to local pronunciation Barsza) stream.

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[For enumeration and etymology of settlement names and regional designations see 6; Viski, cat. 116, entire source.]

[For information on the ethnic composition of Hungary see 6: Viski, cat. 116, entire source.]